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Modern Man

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ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND THOMAS JEFFERSON

A Comparative Study of Two Old Virginians

It was an October day in 1839 when Alexander Campbell stood at the tomb of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. He had just driven the three miles from Charlottesville where he had visited the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson in 1819. He later recorded his impression of the University: "Its localities are well selected; and its architectural designs, execution, and general taste reflect great credit on the distinguished mind of its illustrious founder." He went so far as to say that the Grecian orders of architecture are "the best specimen of good style and taste that we have seen in the United States."

He was not so impressed as he stood at the grave of the Sage of Monticello. The man who had served as the third President of the United States had been dead thirteen years, and yet his country estate was in such a state of disrepair that Campbell viewed it as having "the appearance of a splendid failure." The farm was sterile and exhausted, to use Campbell's description, while the mansion had "the patchwork appearance." Campbell suggested that the whole scene implied that its proprietor had been "a rather ideal and imaginative than practical sound in his views and undertakings." Then he added: "Of the wisdom of his other theories, it is to be hoped that time, the great interpreter of all human effort, will speak more favorably than of those that appear to have been cherished by the occupant and proprietor and improver of Monticello.

Campbell found the tomb and its surroundings in ruins. The fence was dilapidated, the frame of the gate was swinging in the air, the post and bars prostrate on the ground, the monument tottering, the tombstone broken and trodden by swine. To him it all seemed to say, "Here lies in this neglected spot, some Arnold guilty of his country's blood" rather than *Here lies the Author of the American Declaration of Independence.*

The visitor from the little village upstate called Bethany was shocked and incensed by what he saw. On previous celebrations of the Fourth of July he had delivered orations in tribute to Jefferson. Often had he said: "The praises of a Washington, a Franklin, and a Jefferson will long resound through the hills and vallies of this spacious country." (*Mill. Harb.* 1, p. 307) And yet here at Monticello, so loved by its illustrious sage, it was as if he were a forgotten man. "Ought not the nation, the state of Virginia, or the citizens of Albemarle, to pay some attention to this deserted piece of ground!!" He complained that the inscription on the monument had no nominative case, but only "Was born April 13th, O. S. 1743—died July 4th, 1827." He protested: "Did Mr. Jefferson or his heirs presume that all the world would forever find, by intuition, the subject of this verb! What eccentric folly!" (*Mill. Harb.* 10, *p.* 59)

The interesting thing about all this is that the attitude of Campbell at Jefferson's estate is much what we would expect Jefferson's own attitude to be should he have visited Monticello when Campbell did. He too was particular and meticulous; he too insisted that things should be done right. He would have registered the same complaints, I think and much the same way Campbell did.

That there was an affinity of thought between these two old Virginians I have thought for sometime. Having lived in (West) Virginia for awhile, serving on the faculty of Bethany College with its rich traditions, I have basked somewhat in the historical splendour of both of these men. Since it has long been my conviction that the best study of historical values is through biography, I concluded that it might be well to look at Jefferson and Campbell in an essay together.

They should both be remembered first of all as dedicated citizens of the Old Dominion. They were Virginians first, then Americans; or at least it was this way in the early part of their lives, but they eventually gave themselves not only to America but to the entire world. It is evident that Campbell came to view Virginia, its University, and Thomas Jefferson as a kind of triumvirate. It was typical for him to say to the people of Tennessee in 1855: "We plain folks of Virginia, with the immortal Jefferson and his State University, dare not emulate the magnificence of this rich and enterprising maiden State." (*Mill. Harb.* 26, *p.* 218)

Campbell talked about Virginia much as one would speak of his mother: "Men of truth, whose feet have trod the mountains and plains of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, concur in awarding to this delightful region the greatest amount of attractions, the most to please and admire, the most to raise, excite, and transport the mind of a scientific and cultivated beholder." (*Mill. Harb.* 16, p. 345) He was incidentally speaking of that particular part of Virginia made holy by "the grave of the far famed Jefferson." But he talked about the hills of Bethany the same way, "salubrious" being his over-worked adjective.

He had an affection for Monticello similar to that of its famed proprietor. Even though it was over 300 miles from Bethany in a day when travel was difficult, he made no less than three pilgrimages to the place, the last time being when he was nearly 70 years old ("We thought it expedient that Mrs. Campbell should make a visit to Monticello").

But these visits, as we have seen in part, appear now to have been disturbing to Campbell. Perhaps it did not make sense for him, a religious reformer, to have such admiration for an irreligious man, yea even a Deist. What he saw *inside* the edifice during his 1855 visit disturbed him as much as the dilapidation he witnessed *outside* the edifice during his 1839 visit. There were busts of Voltaire and Paine in the chambers! "Why should this Voltaire stand enshrined in the antechamber and Paine in the bedchamber of the sage of Monticello!"

If Campbell did not know why Jefferson would esteem these two, we now know why. Loving France almost as well as his native country, having lived there as Ambassador, hardly any event was viewed more seriously by

him than the French Revolution, which began to brew while he yet lived there. It was Voltaire (partly because of the literary influence of John Locke) who helped to inspire that revolution, giving it what it most needed, philosophical and moral justification. But the *most* significant thing in Jefferson's life was the American Revolution, and it was Thomas Paine who helped to ignite it. So, to the Sage of Monticello these busts symbolized *freedom,* the biggest word of all in the lives of both Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Campbell.

Campbell was hurt that Jefferson's life was not made perfect by Christianity: "He repudiated the Bible," Campbell complained while viewing those busts and thinking of Jefferson, "and he dreamed of making a free and a happy people without faith, a hope, or a desire for Christian immortality." His mixed feelings become even more apparent when he writes: "the painful associations, the unwelcome reminiscences of the godless life and the hopeless death of its gifted and politically honored proprietor." (*Mill. Harb.* 27, p. 89)

It is a point of interest around Bethany that Alexander Campbell's son-in-law, Dr. Judson Barclay, was once the owner of Monticello and lived there for sometime. In his account of the 1855 pilgrimage Campbell mentions this fact (*Ibid. p.* 88), pointing out that Barclay sold it "for a tythe of its intrinsic value." He adds: "It is a place too much visited to be a private residence for any Christian man."

This essay proposes to show that Campbell had a hero who was much closer to his own views than he realized, for much of what Jefferson believed (especially about religion) was hidden away in private letters that have since become public. This study also aims to show that the two men had so much in common that if they could have known each other they might well have started a *third* revolution, a religious renaissance in America that might well have changed the course of history!

The two men almost certainly never met personally. Jefferson was 45 years older, representing the preceding generation. When Jefferson died at 84, Campbell was in his fourth year as editor of *Christian Baptist,* a man of 39, he was already well-known throughout Virginia. Being mentally alert to the very last, Jefferson could well have known of the Sage of Bethany. In this essay we not ony make mention of a reference by Jefferson to the Campbellites as one of the creedless groups in Christendom, but there are the remarkable statements about the restoration of primitive Christianity, which express hope that there will be younger men coming along who can accomplish this great work.

Campbell was unhappy to see busts of Voltaire and Paine within the sacred confines of Monticello. Let us say that in this essay we will show that it might be in order for a bust of Thomas Jefferson to be enshrined at Bethany College and for a bust of Alexander Campbell to grace the halls of the University of Virginia, or even at Monticello alongside Paine and Voltaire, as a testimonial to what might have been, *the third Revolution,* if these two old Virginians could have walked together in their prime.

Universal Minds

Jefferson's interests were vast. In his library at Monticello there were books on art, science, farming, poetry, architecture, history, music, religion and philosophy. He read avidly from the works of Homer, Cicero, Milton, Pope, Dryden, Locke, Hobbes, Adam Smith, Hume, Voltaire, Montesquieu—and on and on the list could be extended, including of course the Bible. As in the case of Campbell, he was especially impressed by John Locke's writings.

In his study of Jefferson, Gilbert Chinard points out that America's third president complained in his old age that "the decays of age had enfeebled the useful energies of the mind," but that in fact Jefferson remained alert and retained his encyclopaedic curiosity and unusual capacity for work almost to the very end of life. Chinard observes that in 1820 alone Jefferson personally replied to 1,267 letters, many of which required painstaking research in his vast library. Some of his letters turned out to be essays that dealt with every possible subject under heaven.

His visitors at Monticello were from all walks of life, kings and peasants alike, and he entered into conversation with them on many subjects: political economy, education, woolen goods, nails, boats, warfare, farming—and like his young neighbor upstate, Alexander Campbell, he was very interested in merino sheep.

His interest in books was so great that after selling his library to Congress he undertook to collect another, a difficult task in his day. From France and Germany he ordered the best editions of Greek and Latin classics. Friends in Europe were asked to send copies of the latest publications. He was a man of ideas as well as action and his mind was as big as the universe itself.

Campbell's attitude toward the world of ideas and learning was strikingly similar to Jefferson's. One only needs to thumb through the many volumes of *Millennial Harbinger* or to peruse the remains of his personal library in the Campbell Room at Bethany College to appreciate the magnitude of his interests. And if one were to look for that vast Jeffersonian dimension in Campbell's thinking in but a single essay, I would suggest his "Philosophy of Memory" in the 1841 *Harbinger*. Indeed, it would take a mind like a Campbell or a Jefferson to create such a work of genius.

When I conjure up my fanciful dreams I sometimes envisage Jefferson and Campbell at "Table Talk" either at Monticello or the Bethany Mansion. Chinard's description of the Sage of Monticello in a dinner conversation can only be equaled by Selina Campbell's portrayal of the Sage of Bethany at table-talk. In *Home Life of Aexander Campbell* she describes these table-talks as edifying and engaging, including such topics as the eye and eyelash, the hand and fingers, and—especially when the candles would flicker out—a dissertation on the value and nature of light. Selina was convinced that her husband's table-talks exceeded those of Coleridge himself.

Like Jefferson at Monticello, Campbell received both the rich and the poor, the elite and the commoners at his guest house at the Mansion, dubbed by a neighbor as "Stranger's Inn," a name that stuck. He could entertain guests for days and talk about the progress of reformation in the Western Reserve

with Jeremy Vardeman, merino sheep and the wool industry with John Brown the abolitionist (and slavery too of course!), the Bible with Walter Scott (and everybody else), the military with Robert E. Lee and future president Garfield, politics and education with Henry Clay, and public welfare and morality with them all. He had the best flock of sheep in Virginia, helped build roads to Wheeling and Wellsburg, and served in the state legislature. He was a husbandman, woolgrower, educator, legislator, debater, lecturer, editor, publisher, preacher, college president, and even a phrenologist!

Only the astronauts are in the class of Jefferson and Campbell!

Apostles of Freedom

Edward Dumbauld in his *Political Writings of Thomas Jefferson* says: "The central feature of Jefferson's political creed was his concern for human freedom." Jefferson believed in the goodness of man and avowed that man is capable of self-government. And so his creed is well embodied in his thrustful affirmation: "I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

It was for his devotion to the freedom of man that Jefferson wished to be remembered by his fellow Americans. Though he achieved such high offices as governor of Virginia, Secretary of State and President of the United States, he wished to be remembered as a crusader for human liberty. He asked that his tombstone identify him not as a governor or president, but as the author of the Declaration of Independence, the statue of Virginia for religious freedom, and the Father of the University of Virginia. Campbell's tombstone likewise hails him as a defender of the faith and the Founder of Bethany College.

But the affinity between Jefferson and Campbell relative to their devotion to human liberty is measured other than by epitaphs. Both were adamantly anti-sectarian and anti-clerical in both politics and religion. Concerning the University of Virginia President Jefferson said: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it." His philosophy of education was to make man free through learning.

Campbell too founded a college, not to support a sect, but to free man's mind of parochial thinking. He set up a course of studies at Bethany that he referred to as "science and literature, the useful arts, agriculture, and the learned and foreign languages." These had two general purposes: "to free the human mind from vulgar prejudices, ignorance, and error" and "to open to us an extensive acquaintance with literature, science and art, and thus furnish us with the means of extending our acquaintance with nature, society, and the Bible."

Both Jefferson and Campbell opposed creeds and partyism in their crusade against tyranny. The President once said: "If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all." And Campbell affirmed: "No human creed in Protestant Christendom can be found that has not made a

division for every generation of its existence." He even warned against *unwri.ten* creeds as more destructive than written ones. To those who sought to make his own unity movement simply another sect, Campbell replied: "They cannot make a sect of us, for we will acknowledge all as Christians who acknowledge the gospel facts and obey Jesus Christ."

Jefferson said that his fight for religious freedom was the bitterest of his life. Campbell also believed that his enemies were those clergymen who wished to hold their people in ecclesiastical bonds. Both men contended that religion in Virginia was being stifled by religion itself. We must remember that when Jefferson commenced his crusade for religious liberty the Anglican Church bore the official seal of Virginia. Jefferson's task was to free Virginia from an established church, thus giving all denominations the right to flourish; Campbell's job was to free man's heart of sectarian pride and untie all believers in the one great Church of Christ on earth. One was more political, the other more religious.

They talked alike in their efforts to unhorse religious tyranny. In his Bill for Religious Freedom in Virginia Jefferson said: "All men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion . . . " Again he said: "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship . . nor shall he be enforced, restrained, molested . . or shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs . . . "

Campbell said it this way: "We do not ask men to give up their opinions; we ask them only not to impose them upon others. Let them hold their opinions, but let them hold them as private property. The faith is public property; opinions are private property. Men have foolishly attempted to make the deductions of some great minds the common measure of all Christians."

There are many interesting parallels in the campaigns these two Virginians conducted in the name of religious liberty, one of the significant being the calumny heaped upon them by their antagonists. Jefferson was attacked as an unbeliever. Such notable libraries as the Philadelphia Public Library refused him a place on their shelves, branding him as an infidel. When he ran for president he suffered that acrimony that only sectarian minds can invent.

The story is somewhat the same with Campbell. He was accused of dividing churches and causing trouble. He did not believe in the Holy Spirit or in the Trinity. He was a Sandemanian, which sounded like something very bad. He wanted to start a sect of his own. He was a slave owner, a charge that led to his imprisonment in Scotland.

Another interesting parallel in their struggles for religious freedom is that *each of them issued a Bible of his own,* to put it the way their enemies did. Jefferson's "Bible" was what he called *the philosophy of Jesus* and entitled "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth," which was an effort to set forth what Jefferson believed to be that part of the Bible that really counts. He was very interested in the moral force of Jesus' teaching. Said he: "A more precious morsel in ethics was never seen." And yet many modern moralists virtually ignore the ethics of Jesus!

Campbell's *Living Oracles* was a much more ambitious and extensive piece of work, being a new version of the entire New Testament. But it called forth the same kind of criticism Jefferson received: "This man has put out a Bible of his own!"

Religious Philosophy

In the immediate generations before Jefferson the Puritans of New England had constructed a religious philosophy that was a synthesis of Protestantism and Platonism. The Platonic heritage inspired the idea of a Holy Commonwealth, which called for a totalitarian religion and anything but religious freedom and separation of church and state. The first Protestants in America set up church states similar to the Roman Catholic states they had left behind in Europe. Back in Geneva Calvin had been such a religious despot that he fined people for not going to church, jailed them for wearing jewelry and lace, and burned them at the stake if they were heretics. A father was jailed for naming his child other than a Bible name and a woman was incarcerated for wearing her hairdo too high. Calvin condemned 58 to death as heretics during his theocratic rule in Geneva.

It was this kind of Calvinism that came to America, and once it was fused with Platonic philosophy, it provided the religious austerity found in colonial America and which in part followed the frontier as it moved west. Plato's philosophy not only supported regimentation of men and ideas, censorship, collectivism, and thought control, but it was also critical of democracy. It also provided resource for metaphysical speculation. Roman Catholicism, on the other hand was more Aristotelian, due to the influence of Thomas Acquinas some centuries before. This is to say that while Calvinistic Protestantism was more mystical and speculative, Roman Catholicism was more scholastic and institutional.

Jeffersonian democracy and what might be called Campbellian individualism drew their inspiration other than from Plato and Aristotle. Jefferson had an aversion of Plato, viewing his writings as "sophisms, futilities and incomprehensibilities."

In a letter to John Adams he said of Plato:

"His foggy mind is forever presenting the semblances of objects which, half seen through a mist, can be defined neither in form nor dimensions. Yet this, which should have consigned him to early oblivion, really procured him immortality of fame and reverence." Of the clergy's use of Plato he commented: "The Christian priesthood, finding the doctrines of Christ levelled to every understanding, and too plain to need explanation, saw in the mysticism of Plato materials with which they might build up an artificial system . . . The doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them, and for the obvious reason that nonsense can never be explained." (Norman Cousins, *In God We Trust, p.* 162)

Jefferson went on to explain that the divines had canonized Plato for speculative purposes and "it is now deemed as impious to question his merits as those of an Apostle of Jesus." He goes on to tell John Adams: "It is fortunate for us, that Platonic republicanism has not obtained the same favor as Platonic Christianity, or we should now have been all living, men, women and children, pell mell together, like beasts of the field or forest." He points out that Plato is especially appealed to on the immortality of the soul, but contends that no one would believe such if there were no better arguments than those given by Plato.

The Monticello sage would have been pleased if he could have read after a different kind of "divine" up in Bethany. Campbell made it clear that his reformation was not philosophically oriented: "We build not on poetry nor on philosophy. We build on the living oracles of the living God. We have the full assurance of understanding only when we build or rest upon the express oracles of the Holy Spirit, addressing us in the Apostolic writing." (*Mill. Harb.* 1862, *p.* 292)

And Jefferson would surely have nodded his approval if he could have read the following from Campbell: "We are ashamed to see any brother, young or old, learned or unlearned, gifted or not gifted, substituting any philosophy of faith for faith itself, any philosophy of hope for hope itself, any philosophy of love for love itself, and thus, unintentionally however it may be, substituting any *theory* however specious and plausible in his own eyes, for the simple belief of the simple testimony of the Holy Spirit." (*Ibid, p.* 294) On the other hand he argued that a *true* philosophy and a *true* faith were not antagonistic. (*Mill. Harb.* 1857, *p.* 481)

It is especially interesting that just as Jefferson poked fun at Plato's arguments for the immortality of the soul, Campbell too lampoons those "simple philosophers" who speak of the immortality of the *soul.* It is the *spirit* of man that is eternal, he contends, distinguishing between soul and spirit, and he insists that: "The body and the soul die, but the spirit is immortal. An *immortal soul* is not once found in Holy Writ." (*Mill. Harb.* 1862, *p.* 112)

Surely Thomas Jefferson, after reading Plato, would have become very interested in Alexander Campbell could he have read the *Millennial Harbinger,* which unfortunately circulated throughout Virginia a little too late for Jefferson.

Jefferson would have admired Campbell's anti-Calvinism, for he himself viewed that school of Protestantism as tyrannical and demoralizing. Like Campbell, Jefferson was anti-Trinitarian, contending that the Calvinistic idea of three Gods is a blasphemous dogma. Both men voiced strong objection to the Calvinistic teaching that, as Jefferson put it "God from the beginning elected certain individuals to be saved, and certain others to be damned, and that no crimes of the former can damn them; no virtues of the latter save." (*Cousins, Op. Cit. p.* 161)

The two men even talked similarly about the restoration of primitive Christianity. One wonders if Jefferson might possibly have had Campbell in mind when he wrote the following in a letter to Benjamin Waterhouse in

1822, one year before Campbell began his publications, but well after he began his crusade throughout Virginia for the restoration of primitive Christianity: "Happy is the prospect of a restoration of primitive Christianity. I must leave to younger athletes to encounter and lop off the false branches which have been engrafted into it by the mythologies of the middle and modern ages." (*Ibid. p.* 162) Did he see in Alexander Campbell, then only 35 years old, one of those "younger athletes" who would tear down the strongholds of speculative Calvinism?

In any case Jefferson saw a restoration preacher as having a lot of trouble with the clergy: "He might be excluded by our hierphants from their churches and meeting-houses, but would be attended in the fields by whole acres of hearers and thinkers." He would have endorsed most of all Campbell's effort to restore a creedless religion free of the speculative dogmas that only confused and divided people. He would also have appreciated Campbell's concept of the priesthood of all believers, his emphasis upon reason as well as faith, and his "common sense" approach to theological questions. But Jefferson feared that any effort to re-establish the true religion of Christ would be followed by "the fatal error of fabricating formulas of creed and confessions of faith, the engines which so soon destroyed the religion of Jesus" and thus negate any restoration effort.

While both men were heterodox in religion, Jefferson's non-conformity is more difficult to define. Was he a deist as he was accused of being? Deism in Jefferson's time was at its peak in American thought. Forms of it are much alive in present-day Unitarianism and perhaps Quakerism. Unlike an atheist who rejects wholesale any notion of God, a deist views God as the Great Architect of the universe, but not as one who *interferes* with the creation or in any way involves himself in human affairs. God is the perfect clock maker who has left his creation to tick on as it will. To think of the Supreme Being as tinkering with his finished clock is to make him seem trivial, anxious, and ridiculous. So God politely bowed out of the universe according to deism. There can therefore be no miracles, and any idea of God as a "Father" who cares for each one of his children is to be rejected.

If Jefferson was a deist, he was a "Christian" type deist, for he could speak of "the revival of primitive Christianity" with as much excitement as a Tennessee "Campbellite." He saw three great principles in Christianity: the belief in one God, a future state of rewards and punishments, and the Golden Rule. From this point on much of his religious thinking was negative in that it was mostly antagonistic to the "crazy imaginations" of Calvinism. He saw Calvinism as believing in three Gods and as urging that the love of one's neighbors and good works are nothing. He complained that in Calvinism "faith is everything and the more incomprehensible the proposition the more merit is its faith." It teaches that reason in religion is of unlawful use, and its Deity "is not the God whom I acknowledge and adore, the Creator and benevolent Governor of the world, but a demon of malignant spirit." (Russell: *Jefferson, Champion of the Free Mind, p.* 338)

Calvin was to Jefferson "an impious dogmatist" and "a false shepherd" that taught "a counter-religion as foreign from Christianity as is that of Mahomet." "Their blasphemies have driven thinking men into infidelity," Jefferson lamented, "who have too hastily rejected the supposed author himself with the horrors so falsely imputed to him." He insisted that the whole civilized world would be Christian "had the doctrines of Jesus been preached always as pure as they came from his lips."

It is difficult to tell Jefferson and Campbell apart when they are speaking on the evils of Calvinism, the jargon of Trinitarianism, the corruption of the clergy, or the confusions of creedalism. Compare their views on these subjects in these quotations:

Thomas Jefferson: "When we shall have done away with the incomprehensible jargon of the Trinitarian arithmetic, that three are one, and one is three; when we shall have knocked down the artificial scaffolding, reared to mask from view the simple structure of Jesus; when, in short, we shall have unlearned everything which has been taught since his day, and got back to the pure and simple doctrines he inculcated, we shall then be truly and worthily his disciplines." (*Cousins, p.* 156)

Alexander Campbell: "I object to the doctrine of the Trinity not because it is contrary to reason or revelation, but because of the metaphysical technicalities, the unintelligible jargon, the unmeaning language of the orthodox creeds on this subject, and the interminable war of words without ideas to which this word *Trinity* has given birth." (*Mill. Harb.* 1833, p. 155)

Thomas Jefferson: "The Presbyterian clergy are loudest, the most intolerant of all sects, the most tyrannical and ambitious; ready at the word of the lawgiver, if such a word could be now obtained, to put the torch to the pile, and to rekindle in this virgin hemisphere, the flames in which their oracle Calvin consumed the poor Servetus, because he could not find in his Euclid the proposition which has demonstrated that three are one and one is three, nor subscribe to that of Calvin, that magistrates have a right to exterminate all heretics to Calvinistic Creed. They want to re-establish, *by law,* that holy inquisition, which they can only infuse into *public opinion.*" (Cousins, p. 151)

Alexander Campbell: "If the legislature incorporate a University for creating priests, let all the religious sects in Kentucky, who desire to have priests manufactured in modern style, have a fair, that is, an equal chance of participating in its advantages . . . But, perhaps, it may be thought expedient to have a few high priests in the state; if so, then do not give the control of the University to the Presbyterian synod, for they stand in the least need of it, inasmuch as they are pretty generally high priests already." (*Chris. Bap.* 2, *p.* 137: Gospel Advocate Edition)

Thomas Jefferson: "You ask my opinion on the items of doctrine in your catechism. I have never permitted myself to meditate on a specific creed. These formulas have been the bane and ruin of the Christian church, its own fatal invention, which, through so many ages, made of Christendom a slaughter-

house, and at this day divides it into casts of inextinguishable hatred to one another." (Cousins, p. 158)

In this same letter Jefferson states that all present sects have creeds except "religionists calling themelves Christians" and the Quakers, which is a reference no doubt to the Campbellites.

Alexander Campbell: "Human creeds have made more heretics than Christians, more parties than reformations, more martyrs than saints, more wars than peace, more hatred than love, more death than life." (*Campbell-Rice Debate, p.* 765)

Thomas Jefferson: "It is in our lives, and not from our words, that our religion must be read. By the same test the world must judge me. But this does not satisfy the priesthood. They must have a positive, a declared assent to all their interested absurdities. My opinion is that there would never have been an infidel if there had never been a priest." (Cousins, p. 147)

Alexander Campbell: "In this country we have no kings and no kingcraft. We are not, therefore, afraid to laugh at the impious and vain pretensions of the allied sovereigns. But in this country we have priests and priestcraft, and therefore many tremble to lisp a word against priests and priestcraft." (Chris. Bap. 1, p. 88)

Needless to say that such views as these brought the wrath of the clergy upon them. Jefferson, for instance, was branded " an atheistical monster" by the president of Trinity College (Methodist), now called Duke University. The president said Jefferson's establishment of the University of Virginia was "a long-range plan for the subversion of Christianity" and "a bold enterprise and deistic daring of enormous proportions." He called him "a deist, an infidel, agnostic and materialist." (M. D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image,* p. 243)

As for Campbell, the leading clerics did everything but curse him, and some of them did worse than that. In Scotland he was imprisoned; in America church buildings were closed to him. In the press he was castigated with such mildness as Andrew Broaddus' "unsound and dangerous" and such harshness as J. B. Jeter's "There is a screw loose in his mental machinery."

Views on Slavery

Jefferson wrote into his *Autobiography* that "nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free," speaking of the Negroes living on his own and other plantations in the South. "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other," he said. As if to anticipate the dark days of the Civil War, which came just twenty years after his death, he wrote: "Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever . . . But if something is not done, and soon done, we shall be the murderers of our own children." (Russell, p. 57)

He had his own plan for the liberation of the slaves. All the children born of slave parents should be declared free, but they should stay with their parents until old enough to shift for themselves. Then they would be educated at public expense in farming, arts, or sciences. At age 21 for the males and 18 for the females they would be placed in colonies apart from the whites where they could build their own culture. When he saw that the public would not buy his idea, he wrote as if by prophecy: "the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow."

He would colonize the Negroes off to themselves because he believed they were inferior to the white race: "I advance it therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstance, are inferior to the whites in the endowment both of body and mind." Being an inferior race, it would be futile and harmful to attempt to make them "equal" in social intercourse. Yet slavery must go, for "it is as degrading for the master as for the slave." He claimed that slavery "is destructive of the morals of the people and of industry." Slavery became a political issue in Jefferson's time. He jeopardized his political future, especially with southern leaders, by his view that slavery was a "national sore" that had to be remedied as soon as possible. As much as he desired to promote the industrial development of the United States, he hesitated to do so in that he believed such progress would perpetuate slavery.

He believed slavery could be abolished if Congress had sufficient power of the states to declare all men free. Yet he was a champion of state rights and so he opposed the kind of centralized power that would be required to end slavery by legal action. While he argued that slavery was poor economics, it was a matter of moral and religious principles that he opposed the system. It simply is not right for one man to own another man. He himself owned 5 (or 90 by one account) slaves who worked his plantation at Montecello. He freed none except the five who were liberated in his last will and testament.

Alexander Campbell owned his first slaves only a few years before Jefferson's death in 1826, and he lived through the stormy period of the slavery question up to and during the Civil War, dying in 1866. Attending his funeral was an old Negro that Campbell had owned as a slave, whom he set free long years before and placed on a pension. Slavery was a "hotter" issue in Campbell's prime than in Jefferson's day, for the abolitionists and anti-abolitionists were at war with each other. The fight had entered the churches, tearing them asunder.

Campbell owned only two or three slaves, probably by way of inheritance from his father-in-law, all of whom he set free. While he was their master they were taught to read and they received religious instruction, a testimony of his disapproval of the abuses that so often characterized the system. He believed the New Testament recognizes, or at least does not condemn, the relationship of master and slave. Yet he favored emancipation. And there were times when he used stern language in condemning the system: "Slavery is the largest and blackest blot upon our national escutcheon, that many-headed monster, that Pandora's box, that bitter root, that blighting and

blasting curse under which so far and so large a portion of our beloved country groans."

Conscious of Thomas Jefferson's plan to colonize the slaves, Campbell set forth a proposal whereby it could be effected: that the ten million dollars that had annually been spent on the national debt, which was now paid off (which sounds strange to 1962 ears!!), should from then on be used to colonize the colored race. Let these millions be spent each year in building a separate culture for the freed slaves, he insisted, "until the soil of our free and happy country shall not be trod by the foot of a slave, nor enriched by a drop of his sweat or blood; that all the world may not believe that we are a nation of hypocrites, asserting all men to have certain natural and inherent rights, which in our practice we deny; and shedding crocodile tears over the fall of Warsaw, and illuminating for the revolution of the Parisians, while we have millions of miserable human beings at home held in involuntary bondage, in ignorance, degradation and vice, by a *republican system of free slaveholding.*" (Richardson, *Memoirs,* 2, p. 368)

Like Jefferson who avowed that slavery is as bad for the master as for the slave, Campbell wrote from the south to his friend Dr. Richardson in which he said "None are more enslaved to men than slave-owners," and also, like Jefferson, he had a word to say in the same letter about the clergy as partly responsible for the blindness: "In religion two or three little popes govern all the associations and conferences—they *think*—and the people pay them for it." (Richardson, *Memoirs,* 2, p. 452)

Just as President Jefferson had condemned slavery as economically unwise as well as morally wrong, Campbell told an audience of South Carolinians that "slavery has proved no greater blessing to the far South than it has done to Virginia. It has exhausted whatever natural fertility had been originally in the soil; and South Carolina seems to have once had a reasonable proportion of fruitful territory. It has superinduced the worst system of agriculture which one could easily imagine; and it has imposed on the whole community views, feelings and habits exceedingly inimical to the resuscitation of the soil and the agricultural improvement and advancement of the State." He went on to point out that tobacco, rice and cotton are profitable crops for slave labor, but that for all other crops slave labor is very unprofitable." (Richardson, p. 450)

By 1845 the slavery dispute among religious leaders had become what Campbell described as a "period of excitement and extremes upon a very exciting subject." At the beginning of this year he promised the readers of *Millennial Harbinger* in his Preface that he would define his position in detail, beginning with an essay on the subject by his honored father, Thomas Campbell. He followed with 12 essays of his own, stating his position as clearly as anyone could expect. Yet it seems that he was always misunderstood by some. In 1847 he was imprisoned in Scotland over a circumstance growing out of the charge that he was pro-slavery, yea even a man-stealer—he was so caricatured on posters as such! In America as early as 1840 he had fixed upon him in *The Philanthropist,* an abolitionist journal, "the brand

of proslavery." The editor wrote: "Mr. Campbell may yet live to curse the day when he took his pen to prove slavery sinless."

In the essay alluded to it was Campbell's intention to show that the slavery question would largely be solved if this divine precept were obeyed: "Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven." He made it clear that he opposed slavery: "I always regarded it as a great evil, as a great misfortune to the American family, and have always cherished the pleasing anticipation that a day was rapidly advancing on which, with the consent of all parties, by an inclined plane, or a gradual approximation, the difficulty would be met and overcome, and this otherwise safe and happy Republic saved from shipwreck and ruin on this ominous and tremendous rock." (*Mill. Harb.* 11, p. 99)

And yet he rejected the proposition that "the holding a person as a slave (or in a state of involuntary servitude) is always a sin." If this were true, he pointed out, then Paul would not have urged masters to be good to their slaves, but would have said, "Masters, immediately emancipate your slaves, and pay them wages, or let them go and seek other employment." Rather Paul *accepts* slavery as a social institution of his time, but sought to control it through Christian love. As Campbell put it: "There are many things that the laws will permit slaveholders to do that Christian masters cannot do. The laws will authorize a master to sell a wife from the bosom of her husband, and an infant from the breast of its mother; and does anyone believe that a follower of Jesus Christ could do such a deed!"

In the essay by Thomas Campbell, referred to above, the old patriarch of the Campbell clan (he was in his 80's when he penned it!) answers the argument that "slavery is sinful in the extreme" with 17 quotations from the Bible indicating that God regulates rather than condemns slavery. He sees it as part of God's judgment against sin. Yet it is an evil that must end, and he predicts its downfall, urging that "no Christian can either approve or practice it."

Both of the Campbells were moderates between two extreme positions. Alexander painstakingly distinguished between pro-slavery, abolitionism, and anti-slavery. "The doctrine of the pro-slavery party is that the relation of Master and Slave is one of divine authority, consonant to the genius of human nature—to all the principles of morality and piety; and is, therefore, morally right, and may, with all propriety exist among Christians." He rejects this position.

Abolitionism is the doctrine that the relation of master and slave "as in its very nature evil, and only evil, and that continually; that living in that relation was just as criminal as living in adultery or any other immoral and wicked connection." Campbell further observes that the abolitionist insists upon breaking up the relationship by an immediate emancipation of all slaves: "Peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must." He rejects this position also: "I have always been anti-slavery, but never an abolitionist."

He shows that many slave-owners are anti-slavery in that they contemplate the end of the system.

Along with all this Campbell urges the abolitionists of the North to mind their own affairs and leave the South free to work its way out of slavery, which he believed it would do. Taking Paul's statement in I Cor. 7:20-21 (but we will use the RSV rendition): "Everyone should remain in the state in which he was called. Were you a slave when called? Never mind. But if you can gain your freedom, avail yourself of the opportunity," he shows that while the apostle accepts slavery without censure he nonetheless hopes for the Christian slave's freedom. Campbell says he too hopes for the freedom of slaves, then adds: "But till that day arrives, which, in my opinion, would arrive much more speedily if the South were permitted to follow its own policies without any foreign interference—let all Christian men mind their own business." He further charges that abolitionists are unchristian and indiscreet when they encourage discontent and rebellion on the part of slaves.

The sorest spot with Campbell was that some churches were disfellowshiping slave-owners. He insisted that "no Christian community can religiously make the simple relation of master and slave a subject of discipline or a term of Communion." While he grants that both master and slave in a congregation might be censured for neglecting their God-ordained duties to each other, he goes on to say: "He that censures a man merely because he is a master of a slave, censures the law and the gospel, Moses and Christ, for they all sanction the relation, and denominated some masters as 'faithful and beloved'."

It was gratifying to Campbell that the gospel had reached large segments of Southern slaves. He observes that in one state that numbered 60,000 Baptists three-fourths of them were slaves! He tells of seeing 2,000 slaves in railroad cars in Charleston who were "well dressed and of the finest appearance, returning from a protracted meeting." He also quotes the governor of South Carolina as saying that the Negroes of his state are much better off than their cannibalistic ancestors in Africa, one reason being that they are given religious education.

Campbell liked to say: "Christian masters are the Lord's slaves, says Paul, while Christian slaves are the Lord's freedman." This is a good summary of his position. He believed that Christianity should accept its social situation, then work toward the betterment of that society by way of Christian principles. And so he urged: "The master, then, being a slave to the Lord, must not be inhibited by law from discharging his duties to his servant. He must carry out the golden rule, and teach him to read the Bible, and extend to him all the means of moral and spiritual improvement." (*Mill. Harb.* 16, p. 261)

Natural Law and Human Rights

During the eighteen days that he spent writing the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson penned a single statement that stands as one of the great monuments in the history of ideas: "We hold these truths

to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In his first draft he had written "sacred and undeniable" instead of *self-evident,* added "independent" to *equal* and "inherent" to *unalienable.* All these words were laden with much meaning in the mind of Jefferson.

Lincoln said of this statement: "All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document, an abstract truth, and so embalm it there, that today, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of re-appearing tyranny and oppression." (Quoted by Peterson, *op cit,* p. 162) Lincoln saw in this document "a moral principle" that gave life to the new republic, and he believed it was this principle of the *liberty* and *rights* of the individual that would save the union in his own day. Borrowing from a biblical proverb, he likened Jefferson's statement to "a word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver," his words being the golden apple and the union with its constitution the picture. "So let us act," said Lincoln, "that neither picture or apple shall ever be blurred, or bruised or broken."

Jefferson believed in *natural* (or "inherent" to use his other word) rights. By this he meant that by virtue of being a man the individual has freedoms and privileges. They are God-given, innate, and undeniable. The purpose of government is to preserve and protect the natural rights of man, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Even in a natural state (before he forms government) man has these rights, and civil power is for the purpose of realizing these rights more easily and more equally for all men.

He admitted that these ideas were not original with him, and he concedes that the main points in the Declaration came from several of his reading sources. Thomas Paine is one thinker that inspired these ideas, the man who was partly responsible for both the American and French Revolutions. Paine shows how twenty people thrown together by accident in an uninhabited country would each be a sovereign in his own natural right. His will would be his law. Yet he would be in danger of injustice from one or all of the others, so his power to defend his rights would not be equal to his rights. He therefore agrees to civil law, which should be a constitutional expression of natural law. There are two kinds of rights: those of thinking, speaking, forming and giving opinions, and all those that can be exercised by the individual apart from outside assistance. The second kind has to do with the acquiring of property and personal protection against injury or tyranny.

Paine taught that the first kind of rights, such as freedom to think and speak, are never surrendered by the individual; but he does give up the right to take the law into his own hands, which he has in the natural state, in order to make civil law work. And so Jefferson wrote into the

Declaration: "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The last phrase may well have been inspired by John Locke who said: "Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent." As we shall see in the case of Campbell also, Jefferson was a faithful disciple of Locke, including the philosopher's ideas on religious freedom such as he taught in his *Letters on Toleration* in which he called for the separation of church and state.

But Jefferson did not follow Locke in his emphasis upon the right of property as a *natural* right. Locke said in his *Treatise of Civil Government* that "The great and chief end of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property." While "property" was included in the rights listed by the First Continental Congress and in the Virginia Bill of Rights, it was conspicuously absent in the Declaration of Independence. That this was a studied omission is indicated by the fact that when Lafayette presented to Jefferson while he was in France that country's "Declaration of the Rights of Man" Jefferson put in brackets the words *right of property,* thus eliminating it from the list of natural rights.

The significance of this may be related to his agrarianism. He always believed that the agricultural class was the only productive class, and he had no confidence in the laborers in the cities. He said: "I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural . . . When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe." (Russell, *Jefferson, Champion of the Free Mind,* p. 147) In the same vein he spoke of the ploughman acting in a moral case before a professor because he has not been "led astray by artificial rules." It was the gentleman farmer who lived the very best life, social as well as moral.

Like Jefferson, the Sage of Bethany also idealized the gentleman farmer and expressed distrust of cities. After one trip among the city folk in 1843 he wrote: "The American cities, like all other cities, are not favorable to the prevalence of pure religious influences. Like frontier settlements, they are good theatres for Methodism and such forms of religion as require more soul than spirit, more animal feeling than Christian knowledge." He went on to point out that it is a mistake to suppose that because the city folk dress more fashionably and understand trade and politics better that they are therefore superior. It is "a grand and pernicious mistake" to suppose them superior in science, piety, or morality." He added: "Those living in favorable rural positions are more learned in Biblical science and better acquainted with the Christian Institution and with all the ways and means of exhibiting Divine truth in its proper attractions than those with whom it has been my lot to mingle in the great cities." (*Mill. Harb.* 1843, p. 64)

To his graduates at Bethany College he said: "An American farmer, well educated, is in my humble opinion one of the most elevated in rank of

all earth's noblemen and lords." The farmer, he said, has leisure for his own personal improvement and to serve his country. He is freer from temptation and is more independent—"a position that throws him more into communion with God and Nature than any other." (*Mill. Harb.* 1844, 360)

Campbell was altogether as conscious and articulate about the rights of man as Jefferson. Early in his career he expressed gratitude for "the most illustrious of all national conventions, that which framed this Magna Charta of American liberty." He said in one of his first debates: "Had sectarian priests framed our Constitution do you think that I, my friends, dare have stood here as I do this day . . . " (Quoted by D. R. Lindley, *Apostle of Freedom,* p. 68)

He referred to the principle "All men are born free" as *golden words.* Jefferson, however, was cautious to say that men are *created* free and equal, not *born* that way. There is a difference. Jefferson meant "independent" (a word used in his first draft before others called for changes), for he realized that no one is *born* either free or equal. It is interesting that one of Campbell's expression of human rights is precisely that used by Jefferson in his first draft of the Declaration: man has, as Campbell put it, "certain inherent and inalienable rights, of which he cannot be divest with impunity." When he said this he was speaking of man's right to a voice in the government (See Lunger, *Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell,* p. 91)

He and Jefferson both followed Locke in asserting the right of a people to rebel against tyranny, Locke as well as Paine inspired the American and French Revolutions. Sovereignty is always in the people rather than in the government. The people select their representatives, whether monarch or president, and they can ask for any office back that they have bestowed in case of injustice. If the magistrate does not surrender his office peacefully, the people can depose him by force. This is the principle of revolution, the safeguard against tyranny. It is *the will of the people that counts.*

Campbell and Jefferson attempted at various times to list *the rights of man,* which they believed grew out of the natural law. The Sage of Monticello not only emphasized life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as in the Declaration of Independence, but he also mentioned that man is endowed with a sense of right and wrong, so there is the right to make moral discriminations and to live a morally responsible life. He said, "The moral sense or conscience is as much a part of man as his leg or arm." Each man has the right to care for his own soul and to think for himself. Free inquiry, right to opinion, and right to dissent he also stressed.

The Sage of Bethany often spoke of political and Christian rights as based on *natural* rights. He mentions the preservation of life and property, the pursuit of happiness, seeking food and entertainment for mind and body, the forming of character and reputation as political rights of all. He refers to "Christian health and prosperity" as the peculiar rights of Christians. (*Chris. Bapt.* 7, p. 4) Like Locke but unlike Jefferson, he made much of the right of private property as natural. In his debate with Robert Owen he suggested that society loses its meaning without private property. In this debate and on other occasions he proved himself to be one of the first to oppose the various communistic enterprises of his day. He scorned Owen for endeavoring to abolish private property, contending that it is part of man's nature and society for him to bargain and buy, to build and improve for his own enrichment. The Sage of Bethany must be listed as one of the first anti-communists in American history.

Educational Philosophy

Not only did both of these old Virginians build a college of his own liking, but they both promoted an educational philospohy that was far in advance of their time. It is also interesting that both men saw such a relationship between education and aesthetics that each played an important role in the architectural plans of his college. Jefferson drew his designs from "chaste models taken from the finest remains of antiquity," especially from Greece and Rome; while Campbell was inspired by his own University of Glasgow.

The University of Virginia, established in 1819, could boast of having three former presidents of the United States on its board (Madison, Monroe, Jefferson), at the same time, the only college in history that can make such a boast. Bethany College, founded in 1840, did however have one president on its board and that while he was in office—J. W. Garfield, a great personal friend and admirer of Alexander Campbell. Bethany's first faculty was composed largely of men who were either products of Jefferson's university or admirers of it. Campbell even used the same menu in his dining hall as was followed at the University of Virginia.

An even more interesting parallel between these two institutions is that each ruled out of its curriculum any offering in theology. The Monticello educator explained this to the religionists as an effort to keep church and state separate, but a better reason was likely that he did not consider theology good education. And so with Campbell. It is in the charter of Bethany College that there is never to be a theological professorship, and yet Bethany, unlike Virginia, was an independent "church" college. It is simply a matter of Campbell not believing in theology—or rather theologians!

The editor of the *Chicago Tribune* remarked in 1880 that "It somehow happens that now and then a man lives who seems to have in his head every important idea that all his countrymen together get into theirs for a century after he is dead." He went on to say that almost any new project of human welfare was anticipated "and likely enough the whole identical plan worked out in detail, somewhere in Jefferson's writings." This appears to be particularly true regarding education, for he postulated a plan for public education as early as 1778, a plan not unlike that which finally came into being generations later. It called for three distinct grades of education: elementary schools for all children; colleges (or secondary schools) for further common education for the more capable; university for the teaching of the sciences in their highest degree and to the most capable.

It was with this educational plan that he introduced the idea of government by wards, based on the old English "hundred" system of one hundred families to a unity. He would divide each county into several wards of five or six miles square. Each ward would have its common school on the elementary level for the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The school would be supported by the ward, and each child would attend three years free of charge and as much longer as the parents wish at their own expense.

These wards would be under the scrutiny of supervisors who would annually select from each ward the most promising children for further education. His plan called for twenty secondary schools scattered across Virginia where these select students would study Greek, Latin, geography and higher arithmetic. One "genius" would be selected from each school every year or two for six more years of advanced study. At the end of the six years the best ten of the twenty would be sent on to a university for three years, the rest dismissed.

He insisted that this plan would provide a basic education for all, rich and poor alike, and that it would make possible advanced training for Virginia's brightest youth who would otherwise be lost to the state's great need for talent. Since the Russian Sputnik went into orbit America has been very conscious of its gifted youth, and in recent years thousands of programs have been initiated in our schools for the purpose of enriching their education. That Jefferson as early as 1787 proposed a plan of public education that provided special training for gifted youth is a commentary on how slow we are in catching up with the thinking of our greatest minds. He realized at the very birth of our republic that our greatest natural resource was the talented mind. We have not erred in trying to educate everyone, for he too saw the need for this, but *we have erred in trying to educate everybody alike.* Jefferson knew better.

He believed that the education of the people is the best guardian of liberty. Since those in power tend "by slow operations" to pervert it into tyranny, the most effectual means of preventing this is to illuminate the minds of the people at large. "It becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons whom Nature hath endowed with genius and virtue should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens." (Russell, *op cit,* p. 51)

Education was therefore closely related to his political theory: "Whenever the people are well informed they can be trusted with their own government." As for the ends to be realized in education, he made this clear in his six objects of primary education which he stated in 1818. These aims, which according to some "ought to be emblazoned in letters of gold in every schoolroom of the land," are as follows:

1. To give every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business.

2. To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing.

3. To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties.

4. To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either.

5. To know his rights.

6. To observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

Emerson once said that "an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man." In many respects the University of Virginia was a reflection of its illustrious founder, for it embodied what Jefferson believed necessary for a prosperous future for America. Even though he became a Governor of a great state, Ambassador to France, Secretary of State, Vice-President, and even President of the United States, he wished to be remembered above all as Father of the University of Virginia. To him the university was a citadel of liberty, a bulwark of freedom, and an invitation to intelligence and maturity. Nothing else he ever did "showed him more clearly to be a major American prophet," as one of his present-day biographers describes his work with the university, is an appraisal that would please him greatly.

It was not until about 1850 that the United States established on an extensive basis systems of elementary education. Afterwards came the public high schools and colleges. Alexander Campbell joined such contemporaries as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in an effort to realize Jefferson's ideal of free education for all. In 1838, when he was contemplating the founding of his own private college, he wrote as follows regarding public education:

> I am perhaps too sensitive on the subject of education; but, really, I regard my brethren and my fellow-citizens as generally too remiss in this great matter. If I had a thousand votes in the State they should all go for universal education at public expense. I would make the literary and moral education of every child born on the territory of the commonwealth the first and paramount duty of the State.

In the absence of such provision, he said he would encourage Sunday schools, private schools, church schools wherever they are possible, for "I go for schools of every sort so long as there is one of my neighbor's children uneducated." In his efforts to convince people of the wisdom of public education he was confronted with the same old excuse: *it is too expensive.* His answer to this was that the people of Virginia were already spending as much money to educate only *part* of the children inadequately as it would take to educate *all* of them properly in a state-wide system.

He also pointed out that the "vicious mass of ignorance, idleness, and crime" is costing more in terms of courts, prisons and law enforcement than it would cost to banish these evils through proper education. This was a key point in his educational philosophy: *intelligence and virtue are the safeguards of life, liberty, reputation and property; and these can be realized only through education.* (*Mill. Harb.* 1, p. 555) Jefferson had said very much the same thing. Both believed that America's future depended upon the moral character of its people, and that character can be developed only through education. It is the *free mind* that is the issue in the thinking of both men.

Campbell's educational philosophy is best expressed perhaps in the many addresses he gave through the years to teachers' conventions. In 1841 he was asked to lecture in Clarksburg, Virginia to a convention called for the purpose of setting up common schools in that part of the state. Unable to attend personally, he sent a long manuscript to be read by another in which he gave his views on two lively questions: *what kind of education is best adapted to the needs of the community and how are schools to be made truly common and accessible to all?*

In this presentation he spoke often of the "educated mind" and what it means to a community. Everything from the skill of the cultivator and the manufacturer to the mariner's compass and the steam-engine belong to society only because of *educated mind.* He concluded, therefore, that in due time society would look to the schoolmaster and the district school more than to mighty generals and standing armies and immense navies. We are beginning to see that "it would be less expensive to educate an infant than to support an aged criminal in a state prison." He posed an ethical question: *does a society have a right to punish a man for crimes that grow out of conditions that society itself has imposed through neglect and indifference?*

As with Jefferson, Campbell sees education as basically *moral,* and so he speaks of "education which is essential to their clear discrimination of right and wrong." He mentions also that "the intellectual and moral improvement of all the mind belonging to the State" should be the first concern of the people. Another important insight into his philosophy of education is his freedom and education: "intelligence and freedom are but two names for the same thing." To be free one must be intelligent; an ignorant community is always enslaved. With the Greek philosophers the sages of Monticello and Bethany would both agree that *man is morally obligated to be intelligent.*

What is *good* education? Campbell insists that the answer to this question depends upon understanding the nature of man. And so the teacher cannot truly educate until he sees his students as sensitive, intellectual, and moral beings who have an ultimate destiny. He goes on, like Jefferson, to list certain objectives of primary education, which he calls the seven arts. These are: the art of thinking, the art of speaking, the art of reading, the art of singing, the art of writing, the art of calculating, the art of bookkeeping.

In teaching these arts one will have to teach more or less the following: orthography, orthoepy, grammer, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, music, elocution. He emphasizes geography, physics, political science and history—"especially the history of our own country"—and "the admirable science of self-knowledge." This would include what we now call psychology as well as philosophy and physiology. He points out that "the laws of physical health" should be taught in the classroom. The pupil should come to understand that he is "fearfully and wonderfully made" by learning about the body. He quotes an educator that laments that students are not taught "the causes of good and bad health nor the physical consequences of immoral conduct."

When I wrote my master's thesis on *The Educational Philosophy of Alexander Campbell* at Southern Methodist University my examining committee was more impressed with Campbell's emphasis upon health education than any other. They figured that he was something like a century ahead of his day in this regard. Perhaps it would not be an oversimplification to say that his educational theory can be summed up in his view of man's knowledge of *three books*: the book of Nature (physics, biology, geography, etc.), the book of Human Nature (psychology, sociology, etc.), the book of God, the Bible (moral and spiritual education).

The last point was the most vital of all to Campbell, for he placed the Bible at the very center of a man's education, both at the college level and in the primary grades. "To educate the head and neglect the heart is only giving teeth to the lion" he would say, and by educating "the heart" he refers to a Bible education. To have schools without Bible and moral training is a natural calamity that should not be tolerated by any civilized community. He avowed that there is a way to teach what he called "common Christianity" in the public schools, which would be the inculcation of the great fundamental truths believed alike by all parties of Christendom. There is a common ground on which "all Christian people can unite, harmonize, and cooperate in one great system of moral and Christian education." (*Mill. Harb.* 12, *p.* 443f.)

All these ideas were presumably embodied in the founding of Bethany College, which was at first a kind of educational colony rather than a mere college. There was an elementary school for pupils from 7 to 14 years, an academy for those above 14 (agriculture, mechanics, etc. "more scientific and extensive than is usually allowed"), the College Proper ("a very liberal education both literary and scientific"), and finally a Normal School for the training of teachers. He stipulated that in all these departments "physical and moral education must keep pace with the intellectual and no young gentleman will be allowed to devote all his energies to the mere improvement of intellect at the expense or hazard of his moral and physical constitution."

Students at Bethany were not only fed the same menu as those at the University of Virginia, but were likewise on the same academic diet, for both institutions were well ahead of their time in emphasizing mathematics and science as well as classical literature. The big difference between the schools reflects the big difference between their founders, for Bethany, while not a Bible college, *was founded upon the Bible.* The Bible is at the center of the sources that provide an understanding of man and the universe, Campbell believed, with science, mathematics and world literature revolving around the Bible, illustrating it and corroborating it as God's revelation to man.

Jefferson would, of course, agree in part. After all, he too issued a Bible; and he too saw the ethics of Jesus as the strongest moral force in the world. But the Bible was safeguarded by the clergy in Jefferon's day, and with the clergy came priestcraft and sectarian bigotry, none of which Jefferson wanted. We believe that if he could have seen how Campbell related the Bible to all the arts and sciences, and as the key to understanding both man and the universe, he would have been so impressed that he would have been glad to have had the Sage of Bethany on his university faculty.

THE ART OF LIVING

In an effort to describe Jefferson's idea of "the Good Life," the noted historian H. W. van Loon speaks of him as the American counterpart of the English yeoman. While *yeoman* is of uncertain meaning, he sees it as referring to those younger sons of a family of free landowners who did not share in the inheritance with their older brothers and who therefore by way of individual initiative worked their way to the top. The yeomen were proud of their freedom; they belonged to no group and refused to be categorized as either nobles or lords. They were what might be called the "natural aristocracy" in that they achieved nobility of character and wealth through self application.

A yeoman might be poor, but he realized he had certain natural rights and these were precious to him. His cottage, no matter how simple or dilapidated, was his own, and even the king himself rould not cross the threshold of that edifice unless he had provided himself with an official warrant. Mr. van Loon quotes William Pitt as saying of the yeomen: "Even the poorest of them may, in his own cottage, bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. That cottage may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through the seams of the walls. The storms may enter it. The rain may enter it. But the King of England cannot enter and all of the King's forces dare not cross the threshold of the rhined tenement of a free man."

One begins to grasp Jefferson's sense of the good life when he weighs the meaning of *a freeman.* Freedom to Jefferson not only meant that a man is a king in his own house, which was so precious to the yeomen, but it made possible the two virtues he stressed beyond all others: self-reliance and self-respect.

Jefferson was philosophically speaking a *utilitarian,* which means that he believed happiness should be one's goal in life. Jeremy Bentham, a British philosopher who was contemporary with Jefferson, fathered Utilitarianism through his teaching that the only intrinsic good is pleasure and the only intrinsic evil is pain. His adage was that the social institutions should produce "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." Jefferson wrote much the same way. While he admitted that "perfect happiness was never intended by the Deity to be the lot of one of his creatures in this world" he nonetheless believed that God "has very much put in our power the nearness of our approaches to it."

He liked to quote Horace: "Enjoy today and put as little trust as possible in the morrow." And Euripides: "More easily shalt thou bear thy sickness with quietness and a noble courage; to suffer is man's fate." And Cicero: "We follow our fate here and there wherever it takes us. Whatever will happen, destiny must be overcome, by bearing it." These quotations sound more stoical than utilitarian, and he was of course greatly influenced by the ethics of the Stoics. But it was the Epicureans that supported his happiness principle.

Speaking of the influence of these ancient philosophies upon Jefferson's thinking, Adrienne Koch says: "Epicureanism seemed to provide the goal for the good life, Stoic discipline was the method of attaining it." (*The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson,* p. 7) The *goal* for man is the greatest possible happiness; the *method* of attaining it is discipline of the will.

As much as he stressed the stoical concept of self-discipline, still he believed that *circumstances* could not be ignored. To be happy one must place himself in that circumstance most conducive to happiness. It is here that his hatred for big cities finds expression. He thought of the people in the crowded slums of Europe's big cities as so many "sardines in a box." He hated such conditions with a passion, and he believed that such urban life is the cause of most human misery. He contrasted such scenes with the wide open spaces of his own beloved Virginia, where every man could have a bit of soil he could call his own. It was his conviction that man's only real chance for happiness is to be close to the soil, for it is there that he finds freedom and independence. The good life, therefore, is the rural life. The Creator never intended that man live as they do in the tenements of big cities.

Central to Jeffersonian ethics is self-understanding. It is the man who knows himself that is free. Man has the natural right to be himself. It is morally wrong for any man, whether he be king or priest, to have such power over another that he cannot act and think for himself. Monticello was something sacred to him, not simply because it was his home all his life, but, as van Loon puts it, "there he could be himself and to be one's self seemed to him the highest form of human happiness."

Some thirty years ago the famous American historian James Truslow Adams produced a book entitled *Jeffersonian Principles* in which he listed those principles of "The Art of Living" that he thought most noteworthy in Jefferson's thinking. One he mentions is Jefferson's insistence that the human mind gains more by looking forward than backward. This was part of his effort to free the mind from the bigotry caused by the clerical canonization of the past. Adams also refers to Jefferson's reference to indolence, extravagance and infidelity to duty as cardinal sins. Many of us would shrink from his plea that "the maxim of buying nothing without the money in our pocket to pay for it would make of our country one of the happiest upon earth."

Adams is also impressed with his insistence that man make proper use of his time. Indolence is a cause of much unhappiness. He sees industry as the means to mental helth: "No laborious person was ever yet hysterical. Exercise and application produce order in our affairs, health of body and cheerfulness of mind, and these make us precious to our friends. It is while we are young that the habit of industry is formed."

He speaks of "the inestimable value of intellectual pleasures," and he avows that "nothing is ours which another may deprive us of." And he includes sympathy in his description of the good life: "What more sublime delight than to mingle tears with one whom the hand of heaven hath smitten . . . and to share our bread with one to whom misfortune has left none!" The alleviation of human misery is the good man's goal in life: "This world abounds indeed with misery: to lighten it's burthen we must divide it with another."

In spelling out some rules of good society, Jefferson mentions good humor as a preservative of peace and tranquility. He also states that one should make it a rule never to enter into an argument with another. It never pays to contradict anybody. "Conviction is the effect of our own dispassionate reasoning, either in solitude, or weighing within ourselves, dispassionately, what we hear from others, standing uncommitted in argument ourselves. It was one of the rules that made Doctor Franklin the most amiable of men in society, 'never to contradict anybody.' If he was urged to announce an opinion, he did it rather by asking questions, as if for information, or by suggesting doubts."

He believed that pride costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold; and one of his adages was "Take things by their smooth handle." Another was: "We never repent of having eaten too little." And another: "Never trouble another for what you can do for yourself."

From our study of his religious philosophy we may conclude that there was a religious base for Jefferson's ethics. Indeed to him religion had to pass a moral test: "I must ever believe that religion substantially good which produces an honest life, and we have been authorized by one whom you and I equally respect, to judge of the tree by its fruit."

He revealed in a letter to John Adams how he related morality to religion:

> If by *religion* we are to understand *sectarian dogmas*, in which no two of them agree, then your exclamation on them is just, "that this would be the best of all possible worlds if there were no religion in it." But if the moral precepts, innate in man, and made part of his physical constitution, as necessary for a social being, if the sublime doctrines of philanthropy and deism taught us by Jesus of Nazareth, in which all agree, constitute true religion, then without it, this would be, as you again say, "something not fit to be named even, indeed, a hell."

Jefferson's view of the nature of man made him neither an optimist nor a pessimist. Though he spoke often of a *moral sense* being implanted by God within man, which is as much a part of man as a leg or arm, still he believed that this moral sense was given to men in varying degrees. It is something that must be strengthened by exercise and cultivation. His melioristic view of human nature (that is, that man's condition is sinful or evil, but he is capable of greatly improving his condition) led him to say: "Although I do not, with some enthusiasts, believe that the human condition will ever advance to such a state of perfection as that there shall no longer be pain or vice in the world, yet I believe it susceptible of much improvement, and, most of all, in matters of government and religion." (Koch, P. 118)

"I do not believe that fourteen out of fifteen men are rogues," he wrote one time from Monticello, then added: "but I have always found that rogues would be uppermost, and I do not know that the proportion is too strong for the higher orders, and for those who, rising above the swinish multitude, always contrive to nestle themselves into places of power and profit." Though all men are not rogues, the rogues are usually in power. His faith in human nature is protected by the principle of eternal vigilance. While he believed that man's natural benevolence must be viewed in the light of his disposition to self-interest ("All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence"), he had faith in man's improvement and progress.

While Alexander Campbell thought much more in terms of the glory and dignity of man than his sinfulness and degradation, he too had a realistic view of human nature. "My acquaintance with men and things," he wrote in the 1838 *Millennial Harbinger,* p. 386, "has very reluctantly compelled me to think either that there is no common sense view of justice or that there is at this day a great lack of common honesty among mankind." In another context he wrote: "Some men would be the janitors of Pandemonium for a living. They would invent machines for cursing, perjury, and blasphemy, if they could find a ready market for them . . . Oh! what pitchy darkness has sin thrown over the intellects of men! Many who once could have reasoned like angels now reason as the demons of perdition." (*Mill. Harb.* 10, p. 339)

Yet the "Dignity of Man" was one of his favorite lecture topics. "At the bidding of the Almighty our father's body rose from the earth in all the symmetrical beauty of stately stature, form and color," he said to a college audience in 1838, "a splendid monument of the consummate wisdom, power and benevolence of the Creator, and stood erect in the presence of God." Like Jefferson, who believed man had no business trying to define God, Campbell was aware that men "impiously presume to scan the Deity." Yet because man is created in the image of God, and since it is essential that man study the model of his own being in order to understand himself, man should seek to know God to the full extent of his revelation both in Nature and in the Bible.

Like Jefferson, the Sage of Bethany believed that morality is the chief end of education, and he too was convinced that God had implanted moral consciousness within man: "In our judgment education does not wholly make nor unmake the man, but gives form and character to all that is within him sown or planted by the hand of his Creator." (*Mill. Harb.* 9, p. 530) Also like Jefferson, he believed that morality begins with self-knowledge. Man is by nature *a thinking being;* he ought not only to think, but to *think for himself.* To do this one must free himself from the bondage of the past.

Even though God implants the moral sense, moral character is cultivated only by one's own efforts, Campbell insisted. "It is an acquisition, the fruit not of a single effort, but of a series of efforts terminating in fixed habits . . . It is the combined result or compound product of the understanding, conscience, and affections as displayed in all the actions of our lives towards God and man, things temporal and eternal, celestial and terrestrial." (*Ibid,* p. 194) Along this same line of individual responsibility he stressed that morality demands that one do good, and not merely that he restrain from doing evil. Both Jefferson and Campbell believed that morality consisted very largely of going good works. Campbell certainly stressed *Christian* morality more than Jefferson, pointing out that one's heart must be pure before God, which is realized only when man yields his will to God, still he saw no virtue in a man that professed Christianity whose life was not a blessing to the world. In his many essays on morality he liked to quote Isaiah's "Cease to do evil—learn to do well."

Morality is thus something to be learned. He saw love as the fulfillment of the whole law of morality. "The shortest and most effectual way to cultivate all moral excellence is to cultivate love." A man will be good to the man that he loves. "Love does no ill to its neighbor." To cultivate love one must involve himself with mankind, suffering with those that suffer and rejoicing with those that rejoice. No man can be truly good without love; love and morality are inseparable.

Campbell speaks pointedly in his essays on morality about those things that promote immorality. The pulpit seems to be uppermost as a promoter of "hypocrisy, insincerity, irreverence, licentiousness, antinomianism, and profanity." It would take someone as anti-clerical as a Campbell or a Jefferson to write: "I am still persuaded that the pulpit has been more fatal to the souls of multitudes than the stage." He also chastizes the religious press for encouraging licentiousness. It disturbed him to see a treatise on poultry and eggs alongside an article on the New Birth in a newspaper.

He was sensitive to the occupations men choose who profess Christian morality. Some callings are simply immoral, he warned, such as the manufacturing of Bowie knives. "The maker and the vender of such barbarous and savage instruments surely cannot pray for a blessing upon their labors and profession." The case of the gallant soldier who carries his weapons openly is different. But a man cannot pray for holiness and yet carry or manufacture secret weapons.

The distillers come up for the strongest censure. The 10,000 distillers in the United States in 1839 (his own estimate) were equally responsible for the thousands that were ruined annually by drink. Speculators also are rebuked: "This calling, in all its branches, is but sheer selfishness at work to enrich itself on the labors of others." It is the art of living upon nothing, the art of making a fortune by cunning. Even politics is scored: "Neither an Apostle nor a Christian could compatibly devote any portion of his time to the *trade* of politics." He underscores *trade,* so perhaps a Jefferson and even himself could indulge in politics without making a *trade* of it!

Censoriousness is an especially ugly vice to Campbell. He suggests that we should speak only of one's virtues in his absence, and if we speak of his faults in his presence it should be with such a disposition that he would not be offended. A reprover should be at least as old as the reproved. He points out that he would question a man's love for him who would reprove him without any fear of offending him. "A censorious spirit is an immoral spirit," he insists. He quotes from Pope's *Universal Prayer*: "Teach me to feel another's woe, To hide the fault I see."

He also scores prevarication, equivocation, double meanings, and mental reservations. Insincerity and dishonesty he hated, and he found too much of these in the churches. He strikes at the preachers for their lack of punctuality, even to counting up the man hours and money lost by the audience when a preacher is late for a speaking appointment. In an effort to make worldliness a matter of the disposition of the heart he says: "To see a Christian in love with a ballroom or a theatre is not more demonstrative of a worldly and fleshly temper than to see him eager in the pursuit of wealth or popularity at the expense of truth, honor, and generosity."

Character and Personality

Few men have been canonized with the world's greatest minds as have Jefferson and Campbell. It is noteworthy when responsible men become so extravagant in their claims to greatness for the honored dead as we find in the following eulogies.

> If all the dust and bones of every Philip, Ferdinand and Charles of Spain and Portugal, of every Louis, Henry and Charles of France, and of all the Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts and Hanovers of England, were concentrated in one mighty urn, a single relic from Jefferson's remains, as they lie moldering on the slopes of the Blue Ridge in Virginia, would be more precious than them all in the sight of a just God, and the eyes of every lover of the human race. (D. W. Voorhees, in *Forty Years of American Oratory*, chapter on Jefferson)
>
> If Apelles alone could paint Alexander of Macedon, who can paint Alexander Campbell? . . . In dignity and solid judgment he was both Moses and Solomon. For forty years he was Moses keeping flocks among these mountains, and communing with God. Overlapping this period, he was Solomon for forty years discoursing the wisdom of God. Incompatible as Moses and Solomon may seem to be with John the Immerser, he was John the reformer and harbinger of the New Covenant to thousands . . . Both Newton and Campbell seemed to have truth imbred in their minds. (D. S. Burnet in *Mill. Harb.* 37, p. 315)

What made Jefferson great? James Parton, America's first professional biographer, attributes his greatness to his love for life. While in some respects he has been equalled and sometimes even surpassed, "where has there been a *lover* so tender, so warm, so constant, as he? Love was his life. Few men have had so many sources of pleasure, so many agreeable tastes and pursuits." Parton enjoyed describing him as a gentleman-farmer who could "calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play a violin." Except for the violin a similar description could be given Campbell, and in its stead we could add "write a poem," for he had composed twenty of them in both rhyme and blank verse in his boyhood. Both men loved nature, homelife, books, ideas, and people.

They were both at home on a horse or in the presence of kings. They loved wine and good company. They were excellent in their ability to communicate ideas, being among the very best conversationalists in history. A good case can be made for their attraction to women. In France Jefferson built lifelong friendships with women, and his biographers assure us that they could have been just as serious as he would want them: "She (Maria Cosway, a highly cultured Anglo-Italian artist) liked Jefferson with a continuity and devotion that might, it would seem from the distance, have grown, had he cared to foster it, into a more ardent feeling." (Russell, p. 116)

Having the advantage of being single, his wife having died when he was in his prime, Jefferson had women "taking possession of him at their first meeting," and they wrote love letters to him even while he was in the White House. Having the disadvantage of being already attached, having married again after losing his first wife, and also in being a preacher, Campbell's attraction to women was apparently more one-sided, though possibly enjoyed with as much pride!

D. S. Burnett inadvertently revealed Campbell's attraction to women when he wrote the following into his memorial sermon about Campbell: "An admiring Kentucky lady hearer being asked in 1825, when he wore a suit of Kentucky jeans, the fashion of that time and region, how he was dressed, replied: 'In a splendid suit of black, of course, but I did not notice.'" If Jefferson had them writing love letters to him from abroad, Campbell had them following him home from Europe! Elisa Davies tells the story of her lonely, tragic life in *An Earnest Life,* in which she tells of seeing Campbell for the first time. It was a case of falling in love—in all good Christian faith, of course, but love just the same. She desired to spend the rest of her life with him and his people. She followed him back to America and was a visitor in his home for over a year. Campbell's magnanimity overwhelmed her. To her he was the paragon of manhood. She testifies that having stayed in his home for a year, during which time she helped nurse his sick and bury his dead, she was still unable to detect any flaw in his character.

Professor Thornton of the University of Virginia in his *Who Was Thomas Jefferson?* (1909) assures us that "No vulgar amour, no vinous debauch, no fever of the card table ever smirched the fair fame of Thomas Jefferson." There were tales to the contrary, that he not only smoked and drank, but that he gambled, swore, and even slept with his slave girl, Sally, by whom he had five children who "looked remarkably like him." A New York physician once stated that he heard a southern gentleman say, "I saw for myself, the daughter of Thomas Jefferson sold in New Orleans, for one thousand dollars." *Ebony,* a magazine for Negroes, as recently at 1954 did a photographic study of several aged Negroes who trace their ancestry to the illustrious Jefferson. The more responsible Jeffersonian scholars assure us, however, that such reports are wholly unreliable, that his life was as it appeared to be, morally clean and intellectually honest.

As much calumny as he suffered otherwise, Campbell was never accused of impropriety with the opposite sex. Both men suffered much from grief and adversity, turning to philosophy and religion for their answers to the problem of evil. Each lost his wife at a time when his love for her seemed to be the greatest. They also buried several of their beloved children amidst their tender years. The only time in his entire life that Jefferson is described as being "completely overcome by his feelings" was at his wife's death. His "violent grief" was not assuaged for three long weeks. He wrote of the experience in these words: "I found time and silence the only medicine, and these but assuage, they never can suppress, the deep drawn sigh which recollection forever brings up . . . " Again he said: "I have often wondered for what good end the sensations of grief could be intended . . . I wish the pathologists would tell us what is the use of grief . . . "

Upon the death of little Wycliffe, his gifted twelve-year-old son who drowned while he was in Europe, Campbell wrote as follows: "How often do we see the sinner living to his threescore years and ten, while many a pure and excellent strippling is cut down as the green and tender herb, in the very morning of his existence? . . . How then shall we explain the mystery?" He goes on to suggest that there are other provinces in God's immense universe where the departed ones may be employed more happily and more usefully than here. He concludes: "Hence the strong probability that multitudes of pure and noble spirits are being constantly drafted from earth to minister to the increasing wants, or to the accumulating pleasures, of a universe more rapidly increasing in its tenantry than we can form any idea of from all the ratios of increasing population registered in the annals of our own little world." (*Mill. Harb.* 18, p. 709)

Obviously Campbell had more to reach for amidst his grief than did Jefferson.

By way of comparing personalities it is apparent that Campbell was more aggressive, more of a reformer; Jefferson was quieter, even "aloof and shy," as his biographer describes him, "except among intimates." Campbell was a better business man, more successful as a farmer, dying the richest man in West Virginia; Jefferson was sometimes a poor manager, often going broke and having to sell his books to pay his debts. Campbell was a better speaker and debater, though not much better, and he would do well to hold his own with Jefferson as a thinker and scholar. As educational leaders and philosophers they were much alike, strong in both theory and practice, though Campbell would labor for the cause more directly and Jefferson more through others. Jefferson was probably a wiser manager of men, could work behind the scenes better; he knew how to make use of the talents of others; he was far more patient than Campbell. Campbell too had an uncanny knowledge of human nature, one of his critics (President Humphreys of Amherst College in 1850) attributing "his great knowledge of human nature" as a reason for his success.

Both men were certainly amiable and charming; both were domestic, loving their families; both were good fathers and husbands. Both were eager to get back home almost as soon as they left; and both were incidentally among the more-travelled men of their age. Jefferson's heart was always at Monticello, his biographers tell us; Campbell spoke often of his longing to be at Bethany. Both were gentlemen-farmers; both were great entertainers, wining and dining the elite of Virginia and foreign visitors as well. As letter writers they were much alike, first of all in that both of them did so much of it, and also because it was a kind of catharsis, serving as an outlet for grief and loneliness as well as an arena for the confrontation of ideas. It is my suspicion that both men wrote letters and essays in single draft, sending their stuff out "as is" without revisions. While Jefferson wrote many books and essays, he was not as prolific as Campbell. But I think he was as good a writer as Campbell, not as verbose and perhaps clearer.

Jefferson and Campbell were both proud men; proud of their success, their colleges, their beloved Virginia. Both were tough competitors. Jefferson may have had more foresight, for he planned years and years ahead, and he was quite willing to wait. Campbell was more impromptu, though not reckless. Jefferson was a better organizer, got more mileage out of those around him. Both were calculating, coldly logical, more Lockean than Platonic. They were less emotional and imaginative than most men of

influence; facts remained facts and never became allegories. Jefferson depended more upon his pen than his tongue; Campbell was equally effective with both. Jefferson was clear, precise, and meticulous in presentation of facts; he disliked long sentences. Campbell was precise in temperament, but his long sentences got in his way. Both were interested in nearly everything, but Jefferson became more involved in more things.

Both men were especially eager for quietness in which to think and write. In France Jefferson stole away to a monastery where he roomed with monks who had a rule against talking! Campbell built his study out in his yard 150 feet away from the house, and then *stood* to read and think!

The men had enough physical resemblances to be kin to each other. Neither had the disadvantage of being handsome, except that they were strong physical specimens with fine masculine features. They both had high cheekbones and a projecting chin; both were moderately tall and had sandy hair that blossomed into white early in life; both were graceful, striking, dignified. Jefferson stood as straight as a gun-barrel, while Campbell was slightly stooped; but Jefferson's right shoulder was higher than the other, and one account describes him as walking with a stoop just as Campbell did. Their eyes were gray (or hopelessly nondescript) and impressive. Both men are described as having a countenance that gave assurance of a gentle heart and a sympathetic, inquisitive mind. Both were innovators and individualists.

In one important respect they move away from each other in different directions, for Jefferson was primarily a statesman and Campbell a religious reformer, educator, and journalist. And yet each also moved in the direction of the other's primary interest. Jefferson too was interested in religious reform, and, as strange as it may seem, such a one as Williams Jennings Bryan, who virtually worshipped Jefferson, saw him primarily as a *religious* figure! As Bryan put it, "The people loved Jefferson because, like the Christian Savior, he first loved them. Greater than his intellect was his love for all mankind." (Peterson, p. 259)

And Campbell made a few political overtures, even after saying that nothing is more inimical to the gospel than politics. He wrote and spoke often on political questions, and in 1829 he served in the Virginia Constitutional Convention where he worked with at least two men who had been bosom friends of Jefferson in earlier life, James Madison and James Monroe, both former presidents. He also rubbed shoulders with Jefferson's arch political enemy, former Chief Justice John Marshall. He also spoke from time to time for state legislatures, visited with at least one president (Buckanan) in the White House, and on one occasion he addressed both houses of Congress.

It was former President James Madison that pinpointed the greatness of Alexander Campbell. Upon being asked what he thought of him just after being associated with him in the state convention, Madison spoke of his high opinion of his ability in the convention, and then said: "But it is as a theologian that Mr. Campbell must be known. It was my pleasure to hear him very often as a preacher of the gospel, and I regard him as the ablest and most original expounder of the Scriptures I have ever heard."

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